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ABSTRACT

This master's thesis is centered around the whole issue of whether New Careerists become more professionally oriented as time goes by, and if so, whether they are able to preserve their low-income characteristics and orientation and retain their ability to perform a bridging function in the low-income community at the same time. The instrument used to survey attitudes of the New Careerists was based on the marginal man theory and statistical analysis of the data gathered from the questionnaire. It was hypothesized that their marginal status would hinder professionalization in terms of attitudes and skills acquisition. The subjects were 200 New Careerists in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The data indicated that New Careerists did become professionalized but only in specific ways (professional mandate and universalistic criteria of judgment) and that the marginality hypothesis was not supported. The implication was that while New Careerists were professionalized to a degree, the bridging function was not lost. They took on professional ways of handling their job situations, while maintaining their loyalties and characteristics as members of the low income community. (DM)

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PROFESSIONALIZATION AND THE NEW CAREERIST

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CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE NEW CAREERS PROGRAM .

The Problem

The basic theoretical concern of this thesis is with professionalization--the process of becoming a professional. More specifically, the focus is on the participants in the New Careers program. An attempt will be made theoretically to explore and describe the New Careerists' situation, and then empirically to test the propositions derived from the theory.

The central question being asked is whether or not New Careerists become more professionalized as they participate in the program. As will be shown, this is an important question for both the objectives and the operation of the program.

In addition, the effect of the type of work the New Careerist does at the agency on his professionalization is discussed. Finally, on the basis of the data, the program is evaluated as to how well it realizes its goals, and recommendations are made for changes in the program and for further research.

The New Careers Program

Among the programs set up to combat poverty in the last few years was the New Careers program. The Minneapolis branch of New Careers involves some 200 previously low-income persons. These individuals, who are from low-income neighborhoods and were unemployed or underemployed at the beginning of the program, are now involved in two types of activities. During half of

their working day, they attend the University of Minnesota, taking classes generally related to the areas of poverty and casework, although their choice of courses is practically unlimited. During the other half of the day, they are employed at agencies which are basically involved in attacking the problems of poor or otherwise disadvantaged people with the aid of professional techniques and knowledge. Included among these agencies are the Minneapolis Public Schools, Twin Cities Opportunities Industrialization Center, the Minnesota State Penitentiary (Stillwater), and Family and Children's Service (a United Fund Agency).

The purpose of the program is twofold: to alleviate the problem of personal poverty on the part of the New Careerist himself; and in the process to improve professional services to the poverty community and thus to alleviate the wider, community-based poverty that resulted in that individual's poverty. This second objective bears further discussion. One of the widely discussed problems of social workers, teachers, and other personnel who work with low-income people has been that they bring to their job situation a very different set of values and habits than those of their clients. This involves pervasive differences in language, dress, and interpersonal relationships, as well as in more objective aspects such as socio-economic background, race, and education. As has been pointed out by many critics of this system¹ of social services, the professional is largely cut off from his client by the characteristics of both. One of the major purposes of the New Careers program is to use people who are indigenous to the neighborhood--who understand the problems of the

poverty community by personal experience--as a bridge between the professional and his client, performing a function that neither of the other two could perform. In this function it is felt that the characteristics New Careerists have as members of low-income groups make them especially able to deal with the problems of those groups--in other words, that there are certain jobs that cannot be done by any other group of people. The idea is not just to provide jobs to help the disadvantaged; it is to get them into jobs wherein they can make a distinctive, unique, and lasting contribution to the community.

Potential Special Abilities of New Careerists as Paraprofessional Workers

The original idea of the New Careers program culminated in a book called New Careers for the Poor,² by Pearl and Riessman. They suggest that there are several factors which can be seen to suggest that indigenous nonprofessionals can be particularly effective in this "bridge" kind of work. First, they point out the basic fact that the aides are poor, that they live in the neighborhood, and that they know the people and the community first-hand. These characteristics enable them to move freely about in the community, without much need to "validate themselves" or to establish themselves in a relationship to the community. This is in marked contrast to the trained professional. The point is that the New Careerist is already placed in the community and the basis of all his statuses and roles is there, while the professional, before he begins to do his work, must first establish and validate a place for himself in the community.

The second reason for the potential success of the New Careerist in these jobs is that he "can be an acceptable model-- a significant other . . .--he is one of 'us'."³ This is related to the first quality, but its main importance is that it changes the tone of the "helping process" that is basic to social work in most cases. It allows the recipient of the services to use a member of his own community as a model, rather than to measure up to the somewhat more abstract and often unattainable standards of the professional. The professional does not really do his job by serving as a model; he does it by helping to set meaningful goals and to provide the means of attaining them. The New Careerist, on the other hand, can provide a more visible and concrete kind of model rather than an abstract goal such as "success" or "upward mobility."

Third, low-income people can be expected to have a kind of know-how that comes from living in the poverty community, from dealing with its problems on a personal level. As Pearl and Riessman put it, with "the know-how to deal with neighborhood problems from the 'inside', not from above . . . there is much greater probability that their suggestions and 'savvy' will 'fit' their clients."⁴

Fourth, low-income people can be expected to succeed in these positions because of their basic approach to the situations and problems of life in the low-income community. Pearl and Riessman call this "style"⁵ and point out that some of the basic components of the style of low-income people, especially in contrast to those of the professionals who work with them, are their

informality, their tendency to be "directive," "active," and "partisan" in their approaches to problems, and their tendency to attribute events to external causes rather than to seek internal ones. These are in marked contrast to those of the professional worker in general, who keeps relationships somewhat structured and formal, who tends to act in more persuasive ways rather than by taking direct action in all situations, and who generally minimizes the effect of the environment in causing and solving problems in favor of seeking causes and solutions within the client himself.

These four qualities of low-income indigenous personnel--community membership, ability to be a meaningful model, "savvy," and "style"--then, make them potentially able to deal with the problems of the low-income community in a different way than that which professionals use, and to render the professionals' work more meaningful and effective in the low-income community. It should be emphasized that New Careerists are not expected to replace professionals or to do their job. They are expected to do a new kind of job to which they are especially suited because of their own personal and social characteristics, and which the professionals cannot do.

The Training of New Careerists

Given these low-income persons with their potential effectiveness as nonprofessional workers in the low-income community from which they came, the program is faced with the need to train them in some way for the job that they will be expected to perform.

It is not to be assumed that low-income persons can do their job just as they are, without some acquired knowledge and training; indeed, Pearl and Riessman⁶ suggest that their training should go on throughout the period of their involvement with the program.

In the Minneapolis New Careers Program, training comes mainly from two sources: the University and the agency in which the person is employed. The course sequence at the University involves participation of every New Careerist in the University culture and environment, and exposure to the academic setting. This training is fairly general and has only indirect applications on the job New Careerists do.

More specific and job-related is the training New Careerists get at the agency in which they work. This is intended to enable them to do the tasks involved in the job itself. In contrast to the training at the University, this training is probably not very generalizable across agencies. A person who was trained to work in one agency would probably not be able to use much of what he had learned there in his work at another agency. This is a variety of learning through apprenticeship.

The main point is that all of the training New Careerists receive comes from professionals, both at the University and at the agency. It can probably be assumed that these professionals employ their acquired values and normative systems--their basic approach--in their interactions with New Careerists, and that they attempt to teach them to take a professional approach to the problems they deal with on the job. The kind of approach

this is will be discussed below. This is where the problem comes in: are the special abilities which enable New Careerists to fulfill the bridge function being trained out of them by the professionals who are responsible for their training? If this is the case, then the New Careers program could be seen as just an alternate path to professional status, attitudes, and techniques; this would be contradictory to the basic concept of the program, which is that New Careerists can perform a service in the low-income community which cannot be performed by the members of any other group. The way the program is set up seems simultaneously to value their characteristics as low-income people and to attempt to train these qualities out of them so that they can do a more "professional" job. Pearl and Riessman summarize this way:⁷

Professionalization includes, but implies much more than task rationalization. It implies a variety of norms and attitudes and a perspective that covers a broad spectrum. It connotes . . . looking at the broader implications of behavior and practice; seeing the relationships to some degree, of a broad range of phenomena. An indigenous non-professional is very much task centered and "now" centered and this is his strength and his weakness. Moreover, professional socialization constrains toward much more role-segmentation in relation to the client. Indigenous personnel . . . have the capacity for a much more wholistic client relationship, and again this is their strength and their potential limitation.

Contamination

In sum, one of the major problems of the New Careers program, theoretically and practically, is that the special talents and characteristics of the New Careerist qua low-income person may be compromised or made less effective by contact with professionals, and that in the process their ability to do a job that no one else can do will be lost. Pearl and Riessman call this

the danger of "contamination" and cite four major sources of it:⁸

1. Through being trained by professionals;
2. Through increased general association with professionals in the agency;
3. Through being given status and recognition by the agency and thereby acquiring some identification with professional models (or competing with professionals for this recognition);
4. Through searching for a career line, and acquiring related education.

Summary

This research is centered around this whole issue of whether New Careerists become significantly more professionally oriented as time goes by, and if so, of whether they are able to preserve their low-income characteristics and orientation and retain their ability to perform a unique function in the low-income community at the same time.

Pearl and Riessman provide a perceptive and extensive review of the potential problems involved in the concept, but their main concern is with the implementation of a program. For a more extensive theoretical framework in which to set the professionalization problem of the New Careers Program, it is necessary to use other sources and to draw on the insights of sociology into these kinds of problems. Specifically, an attempt will be made to see the New Careerist as moving from one set of social circumstances to another, in the process being changed as a person. It will be suggested that New Careerists are marginal, because they are moving from one group to another, and that this marginality affects considerably the ways in which they become professionalized.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Now that the New Careers Program has been described in some detail, it is necessary to look for a more theoretical way in which to view the situation of the aide. It is apparent that what is taking place is a social transition on the part of these individuals. By residence and background, they are mostly members of the lower or lower-middle income group. By virtue of their participation in New Careers, they are exposed to professional modes of behavior and professional people, and expected gradually to acquire the skills of professionals. The main concern here is with what happens in between these two extremes. Perhaps the best way to discuss this is to present a model of each situation--the point of origin and the point of aspiration, so to speak--and then to explore what can be expected to happen in between them.

Backgrounds of New Careerists

Although there is considerable heterogeneity among New Careerists as to background and neighborhood of residence, they can be lumped for the sake of discussion into one general group. It should be kept in mind, though, that there is great variety among them. Their background as a whole is either lower class or lower-middle class. The circumstances that have brought them to this position vary. With some, it is at least partially a product of

their minority group status. With others, it is a result of parental and childhood poverty which made it difficult to achieve access to education or training which would have enabled them to escape poverty. And with others, poverty is a result of personal or social crises such as divorce and criminal convictions; in these cases, it is because the consequences of the crisis are so hard to overcome that poverty has become permanent. As has been mentioned, a person has to be unemployed or underemployed to become a New Careerist. This includes those people who, for whatever reason, are working at jobs which do not utilize even vaguely the talents they have by education or training.

Nearly all New Careerists reside in the "inner-city" areas of Minneapolis and St. Paul, many in areas slated for urban renewal. Many of the neighborhoods in which they live are heavily populated by minority group members. These areas have all the well-known problems of the slum: absentee ownership, substandard conditions, inability to procure improvements, disproportionately high rents, and so on.

Over half of the New Careerists are non-white--about 45% Negro and 10% American Indian. There is a full range of militancy and ethnic identification among the group, but as a whole they are fairly deeply involved, white or non-white, in the problems of the neighborhoods in which they live.

Although most New Careerists have completed high school, very few have any college education, and most received their high school education in the inner city high schools serving neighborhoods similar to those in which they now live. One of their most

serious problems in their work at the University is that although orally they are quite articulate, as a whole they have little aptitude for written communication. This is probably a result of their educational experience, as well as of the kinds of work experience they have had. Few of them have been in jobs which require more than the most minimal written communication, and they have not had either experience or opportunity to develop along those lines.

Over one-half of the group is either divorced or separated from the spouse. At the same time, considerably over half of them (61%) have three or more children. These facts, combined with the fact that 45% of all New Careerists had welfare as their primary means of support before joining the program, give a good picture of what the responsibilities and qualities of family life are like for the aides as a group. This picture is also complicated for New Careerists by the fact that they make only \$2.00 or slightly more per hour, and yet their work at New Careers prevents them from receiving additional financial aid from some sources.

Summary

This gives a fairly well-rounded picture of the kind of life-style most New Careerists have or have recently had, and of the kinds of backgrounds they come from. On the whole, it is an incomplete background, in terms of what others in the society can attain. In terms of socioeconomic status, area of residence, ethnic background, education, communication skills, family stability, and financial security, New Careerists lead a tenuous

existence that has heavy responsibilities attached to it. At the University and on the job they are associated with professionals--as teachers and supervisors--who have a very different background than their own, and from whom they are expected to learn how to do professional kinds of work. These people, and the life style they represent for the New Careerist, form the other extreme in the New Careerist's life. The following section will be devoted to discussing this professional way of life.

The Professional Model

Backgrounds of Supervisors

Most of the people who supervise New Careerists at the various agencies are professionals, with the background and training appropriate to that status. In general, these people can be assumed to have at least a bachelor's degree, and many have done graduate work as well. Although there is little data on the supervisors as a group, it is probably safe to assume, because of their professional status, that they had generally more economically stable childhoods than did the New Careerists. It is also clear that whatever the reasons New Careerists could not gain access to higher education, the same forces did not affect the supervisors to the same extent.

One of the main skills a professional must have is the ability to express himself and to describe the world he moves in. Most of the supervisors have developed these kinds of skills through their schooling and through their experience on the job, and are articulate, both in written and oral communication.

Further, most supervisors are white. Few if any have prison records, and few have ever been unemployed except during the time required for their education. In short, they have few objective qualities which inhibit them in their jobs or their mobility; if they have any vocational problems, it is because of their professional or personal inadequacies.

General Characteristics of Professionals

Having placed these particular people, the supervisors, into the general class of professional workers, it is now possible to create a model of what being a professional involves for one's personal and social relationships. Using the available sociological literature, a model of what a professional is like can be created, with the following six elements: professional solidarity, technical competence, specificity of function, the professional mandate, affective neutrality, and universalistic criteria of judgment. In the following section, each of these will be discussed in detail.

Although there are many scattered articles on professionalization--used here to mean the process of becoming a professional--and professionals, the work of Parsons, Hughes,⁹ and the writers in Vollmer and Mills' reader¹⁰ crystallize the various facets of the problem in the most comprehensive way. Although each writer has a different title for the element of professionalism he happens to be describing, all seem to pick out the same qualities of professionals which can be used to identify and describe them. For this thesis labels have been used for the elements, but it

must be emphasized that this is for convenience. What is being dealt with is the concept, not the labels; and all of the theorists cover basically the same concepts.

Professional Solidarity

The members of a professional group have certain characteristics as a group, the main one being that they support each other in the performance of their work and maintain the sole right to decide what is good work and what is bad within their own group. The broader implications of this group membership are that there is a culture and a set of expectations; there are folkways and mores; there are sanctions and mechanisms of social control; and there are all the other social forms which develop within groups and which function both to maintain the solidarity of the group and to separate its members out from those who are not in the group. These patterns of behavior define how the people in the group should act to each other and to those outside the group.¹¹ The characteristics of the group are reflected in the individual:¹²

This culture and technique, the etiquette and skill of the profession, appear in the individual as personal traits. The objects become to the individual a constellation of sacred and secular objects and attitudes.

Greenwood¹³ points out that this "professional culture" is sustained largely through the professionals' membership in formal professional associations. The elements of the culture can be expected to be formed, at least partially, in this way. The sanctions taken against those who violate the norms of the group may also be expected to rest with this formal group.

Technical Competence

The process of education is, in part, intended to impart to aspiring professionals the technical skills involved in the work in which the members of the profession are engaged. Greenwood, however, points out that this is not just a question of technical skills, but also the existence of a "systematic body of theory"¹⁴ which is shared among the professionals in question. This distinguishes them, for example, from such groups as mechanics and plumbers, who, while they share an area of proficiency, have little literature or theory behind their competence.

Hughes suggests that this technical competence with a body of theory to support it further acts to set off the professional group from other groups.¹⁵ It acts to create a body of fairly esoteric knowledge which is shared among the members of the group; this in turn both confirms the solidarity of the group and sets it off from other groups.

Another sociological function of this technical competence is to give the professional some degree of authority in the particular area in which he has technical competence. According to Parsons,¹⁶ this authority

. . . is not as such based on a general superior status . . . nor is it a manifestation of superior "wisdom" in general . . . It is rather based on the superior "technical competence" of the professional man.

Thus, the professional man, be he social worker, teacher, doctor, or any other type, has authority because he knows--in the sense that he has learned--things about his own field which he can claim no one else knows, including those who have the particu-

lar problem with which the professional deals. He can do things that people without his training and technical competence cannot do; this entitles him to a certain amount of authority.

Specificity of Function

Closely related to the technical competence of the professional is his specificity of function. According to Parsons,¹⁷ there are five pattern variables which can be used to describe a role. One of these is the actor's scope of interest in the object with which he is concerned in a social interaction. His interest may range from very specific to very diffuse. Professionals, according to Parsons, define the object (the client, patient, student, etc.) specifically in terms of their own function.¹⁸ For example, the teacher's job is to teach and the doctor's is to heal, and neither of these functions is included in the role of the other. This is in marked contrast to roles of more diffuse interest, such as that of mother, in which one role entitles and/or obligates the person to perform many different kinds of services.

The technical competence of the professional, then, is limited to a particular part of the patient/client's life. The professional's job is functionally specific:¹⁹

The technical competence which is one of the principle defining characteristics of the professional status and role is always limited to a particular "field" of knowledge and skill.

The Professional's Mandate

Closely connected with technical competence is the fact that professionals, in dealing with the public (those who are not members of their group), claim freedom to deviate in various ways from the norms of society. Once they have claimed this, they will, in Hughes' words,²⁰

. . . also claim a mandate to define what is proper conduct of others toward the matters concerned with their work. . . . Professionals also . . . claim a legal, moral, and intellectual mandate Collectively they presume to tell society what is good and right for the individual and for society at large in some aspect of life. Indeed, they set the very terms in which people may think about this aspect of life.

This is most obviously true of social workers and doctors, for example, but it is also true of teachers, who claim the right to decide what material is taught and how it is taught, as well as to grade students on their performance.

A further ramification of this is that the non-professional is no longer assumed able to judge whether or not the professional's work is satisfactory. This is yet another reinforcement of professional solidarity since "it is as if competence became an attribute of the profession as a whole, rather than of individuals as such."²¹ It is also reinforced by the professional's specific and limited area of technical competence, since only the professional's colleagues, in many cases, are competent to understand the work he is doing.

MacIver²² points out that professional groups are somewhat unique in this aspect, since they set standards not only pertaining to members of the group itself, but also toward those outside

the group. This is the essence of the professional mandate: that while the professional claims freedom to define some areas of life, he does it for those who are outside his own group, and seldom for those who share his particular professional vocation.

Affective Neutrality and Objectivity

Another characteristic of professional workers is their attempt to treat their clients' or patients' problems as objectively and scientifically as possible. This includes the use of instruments in almost all professional fields, as well as the professionals' basic attitude toward the recipient of his services. Affective neutrality is one pole of another of Parsons' pattern variables which can be used to describe roles. This pattern variable is the dilemma between gratification and discipline.²³ Professionals, according to Parsons, emphasize affective neutrality over affectivity.²⁴ This means that in general professionals seek not merely immediate expressive gratification; rather, they seek more long-term instrumental or moral gratifications. Professionals, then, can ideally enjoy their work only insofar as their client/patient benefits from it over a long period of time. This is in marked contrast to such occupations as "professional" athletes, factory workers, and other such personnel, who receive gratification insofar as the job benefits themselves, either through wages or through other kinds of personal and private gratification.

Far from making a closer relationship between the professional and his client, affective neutrality may introduce consid-

erable friction. As Hughes points out, one of the problems of the professional is that his client's emergencies are his routines, and he has to see them as objectively as possible in order to do his job; yet the patient or client is often angered by this treatment.²⁵

This attempt at affective neutrality is closely related to the way in which the professional categorizes the problems with which he is faced.

Universalistic Criteria of Judgment

According to Parsons, the knowledge and competence of the professional carries with it a tendency to see events in categories rather than as isolated, particularized happenings; further, the validity of a treatment or action is based in these universalistic types of judgments.²⁶ The doctor, in other words, looks for what there is in the patient's case that is like the other patients he has studied or learned about when he seeks a cure. The mother, on the other hand, sees her child as a unique person who cannot be compared to categories of people except in the most general way. The professional tries to deal with the world in categories, so that the behavior in question can be analyzed and predicted as well as controlled or altered.²⁷

As Parsons points out, treating behavior in categories enables the professional better to exercise his authority as a professional, since it puts him outside the realm of close personal (and particularistic) relationships. This facilitates his claim to and use of his professional mandate and shields

him from having to perform functions outside the area of his specific area of technical competence.

Again, this is closely related to the questions of technical competence, professional solidarity, and authority, in that without any of those three, universalistic criteria of diagnosis and treatment could not be implemented.

In sum, there are six major characteristics which can be used both to describe professionals and to distinguish them from other people. These characteristics are professional solidarity, technical competence, specificity of function, the professional mandate, affective neutrality, and universalistic criteria of judgment.

It is clear that the background of New Careerists differs sharply from that of the professionals with whom they work at the agency. This difference is made even more emphatic by the fact that New Careerists are expected gradually to become professionals, and to take on the characteristics of professionals. They stand on a middle ground, then, between two very different styles of life. The obvious question to be asked is what effect this position has on them. There are two basic approaches one can take to this situation, theoretically. First, one can consider New Careerists as marginal men, in the same sense that Negroes who can "pass" and well-educated natives in a colony are marginal. This approach will be discussed at some length in the following section. The other approach one can take is to consider the relationships between the New Careerists and their supervisors, paying particular attention to the power-dependency rela-

tionships that develop between them.

Marginal Man Theory

In this attempt to place the New Careerist theoretically between these two poles, the work of Stonequist,²⁸ expanded by that of Hughes,²⁹ is particularly useful. Stonequist first explored the concept with specific reference to situations where racial and/or cultural groups are in contact with each other in such a way that some individuals belong to both groups partially but to neither group completely.

He considered the problem as basically an individual response to social conditions, and proposed a general career line for marginal people.³⁰ First, the person goes through a period in which he is not aware of his marginality at all. Later, and for various reasons, he becomes aware of it, and defines himself as a marginal person. This phase is a crisis period for the individual--a time when he must reconstruct or alter his own identity. Finally, the person comes to grips with his marginal status and seeks a livable and workable solution to the problems and tensions it entails.

Basically, according to Stonequist, there are three modes of adjustment: assimilation, vacillation, and disorganization. The person may either change in ways which make him fully acceptable to one group or the other, or he may go between the two groups from time to time, or he may fail to achieve any workable solution and become socially incapacitated.³¹

As a result of the process of becoming marginal--of recognizing one's marginality,³²

the individual finds himself estranged from both cultures. Having participated in each he is now able to look at himself from two viewpoints . . . Since these two standpoints are in conflict . . . the individual experiences this conflict.

In sum, the process of realizing and responding to one's status as a marginal man is a dynamic one. The individual may be expected to change his concept of himself and his relative involvements in the two groups over time, until he reaches a stable position in one or the other group or gives up the struggle to do so.

Whereas Stonequist describes the general case of marginality and presents a broad theoretical framework for considering it, Hughes attempts to take a closer look at the social mechanisms that keep some people within a given group and some people outside it. He explores the ways in which groups set up barriers to keep certain people out of the group, and the functions these barriers have for the people within the group.

Auxiliary Characteristics

According to this position, for every group in society--racial, occupational, ethnic, cultural, etc.--one can identify certain characteristics that are expected to be possessed by those who belong to the group. Hughes calls these "auxiliary traits."³³ For example, social workers are assumed generally to have middle-class backgrounds, to be white, to be well-educated, to use middle-class standards and values in doing their jobs, and

to act as professionals. These auxiliary traits have two main functions for the occupational or professional group in particular. First, they provide a means of defining the limits and extent of the group itself--who can belong, what is shared, and how the members of this group are different from other people outside the group.³⁴ Thus, nearly all people who do not have a college degree are prevented by law and by custom from being social workers--as well as those who exhibit non-professional behavior patterns or who do not espouse the values of the middle class. This enables social workers as a group to assume a certain groundwork upon which social interaction within the group can be expected to proceed. It also enables and encourages them to set limits as to what kinds of behaviors are acceptable in this group, thus also defining deviance. Finally, social workers can attach special meaning and value to their own group because they can point out socially valued characteristics which its members possess. All of these things give a person confidence that what he says and does will be understood within the group, and that others in the group would likely react in the same way.

Second, these auxiliary characteristics that are taken on, and which develop into strongly held norms and habits as the person solidifies his membership in the group, act as "almost instinctive attempts of a group of people to cushion themselves against the hazards of their careers."³⁵ In the case of social workers, an example of this might be standards that are set up within the social worker group as to "successes" and "failures"

with clients. These definitions can be expected to be generally the same among all social workers--thus protecting them with group solidarity from the danger of outside criticism for failure in any particular case. They assure the members of the group that each of their colleagues will greet the risks and contingencies of the occupation with about the same response, protecting the solidarity and intimacy of the group.

Auxiliary traits associated with various positions appear as stereotypes in any given society, and are maintained and changed in the culture just as any other stereotypes are.³⁶ Mass media disseminate them and solidify them; they are also carried in ordinary conversation. They become another of the numerous ways people have of predicting how any given person will act in any given situation.

In sum, what the set of auxiliary traits does for the members of the occupational or professional group is to provide them with a predictable, stable world of interaction, in which they know what to expect both from members of the group and from others, and they know that they will be understood in what they say and supported in what they do.

Status Dilemmas and Contradictions

Most people who are drawn into these groups have many of the auxiliary characteristics of the group before they join it, having acquired them in their social class background, their educational experience and in other similar ways. They can be absorbed readily into the group and taken into confidence. However,

when a new group of people without the desired auxiliary characteristics attempts to come into the group, it is a difficult process. The group is deprived of a way to "place" the person, and the person is deprived of a way to gain access to the informal but nevertheless invaluable group support that exists within the occupational group. As Hughes puts it:³⁷

The person who is the first of his kind to attain a certain status is often not drawn into the informal brotherhood in which experiences are exchanged, competence built up, and the formal code elaborated and enforced. He thus remains forever a marginal man.

Essentially, it is a question of a status contradiction for the people in the group, and of a status dilemma for the individual who is trying to gain access to it without the "appropriate" auxiliary characteristics.³⁸ The person has the statuses (education, membership in an organization, training, etc.) which qualify him to do the kind of work done by the group in question; at the same time, he has the statuses (Negro, low-income background, ex-convict, etc.) which are normally neither acceptable to the occupational group nor characteristics of its members. Lenski³⁹ calls this lack of status crystallization. He suggests that a person's status can be defined in terms of various hierarchies, such as education, religion, ethnicity, income and occupation. If there are large discrepancies between his statuses on the various hierarchies, he can be said to have a relatively uncrystallized status. According to Lenski, such a person "occupies an ambiguous position in society--a position in which he is likely to be subjected to numerous unpleasant experiences in the

normal course of social interaction."⁴⁰ Hughes⁴¹ calls this a status dilemma.

In sum, all three of these theories describe the person who is caught between the extremes of status as being in a very socially painful situation. The person who has some of the characteristics of both the group of origin and the group of aspiration, but not all of either one, is a marginal individual. From the preceding discussion of the characteristics of New Careerists on entering the program and of the professionals they work with, it is clear that New Careerists are, in fact, marginal people. In the following section their marginality will be discussed at length.

New Careerists and Marginality

As has been mentioned already, New Careerists are generally high school-educated; few have any college experience prior to their participation in the program. More than one-half of them are non-white. All of them, upon joining New Careers, were underemployed or unemployed. Nearly all of them lived in a neighborhood where most people were poor. Forty-five per cent of them received their main financial support prior to joining New Careers from welfare.

In sum, New Careerists belong basically to the lower class, both in terms of their financial position and in terms of their relative ability to gain access to the goods and services of the society. They have lower class models of communication and social adjustment. They also have the characteristics of the lower class

which prevent its members from becoming socially mobile, as well as the educational, racial and social characteristics which act as barriers.

On the other hand, New Careerists are affiliated with the New Careers program, which sets them apart from this group in many ways. First, it removes them from the neighborhood in which they live for a large part of the day, placing them instead in a professional setting. Second, it generally places them in occupational roles in which they must act as the representative of the agency when they deal with a member of their own social class group. This sets them apart, both socially and psychologically, from the persons most like themselves in terms of economic, geographical, and social background. Third, it encourages them to think in more analytical ways about the people who seek help from the agency, and whose situation is very like their own in most respects. In other words, at the agency they are expected to learn to solve the problems of other people whose problems are actually their own problems as well. In the process of self-rehabilitation, they are engaged in the work of agencies which attempt to rehabilitate others. This process almost inevitably forces the New Careerist to separate himself in some ways from the neighborhood and social class group to which he originally belonged, in order to define himself as a helping person rather than as one who receives help.

New Careerists and the Professional Group

In the same way, the New Careerist cannot be fully accepted

into the professional group with which he is working at the agency. The professionals who work there are mostly teachers and social workers. They are generally white; they have middle-class backgrounds and status. They are well-educated. They live as a whole in middle-class neighborhoods. It is apparent that the differences in approach and know-how between New Careerists and their professional supervisors is large. New Careerists cannot readily be accepted into the professional group without threatening the solidarity and predictability of its members for each other. New Careerists are in the dilemma of the marginal man: they do the work of the professionals, at least to some extent; but they are not accepted into the professional group.

New Careerists and Status Contradictions

It is clear that New Careerists are very different in their backgrounds and situation from the professionals who supervise them. From Hughes' theory, we would predict that supervisors would in general be defensive and careful about drawing the lines of their own group wide enough to include New Careerists. From the standpoint of the supervisor, New Careerists' responses are either unpredictable as a whole or predictable but undesirable by their standards. Supervisors have little or no common ground on which to "place" the New Careerist. Consequently they are unlikely to give him the group support they would extend to a neophyte who was more like themselves. This is a clear example of what Hughes calls status contradiction.

New Careerists and Status Dilemmas

According to Hughes' terminology, every New Careerist must undergo, to some extent, a status dilemma. To Stonequist, this is the very crisis that makes a person a marginal man. The New Careerist has to step outside himself, in a way, and see himself as two groups of people--supervisors and peers--see him. He must constantly be choosing between the two groups, taking on some characteristics of each while sloughing off others.

In sum, we can expect that both New Careerists and their professional supervisors will be subject to the pressures that accompany the situation of the marginal man. In spite of the training New Careerists are receiving and the legitimation their position receives from the New Careers program, it may be that the characteristics of New Careerists and of their supervisors really act to prevent them from becoming professionalized and to keep them in a marginal position. If they are not becoming professionalized, it may be more a result of their lack of acceptance into the professional group than it is a result of their attachment to their own neighborhood and income group.

One of the things that this theory does not focus on, however, is the day-to-day social interaction between aide and supervisor. It can be expected that a fairly complex relationship will develop between them in the process of doing the work of the agency. It may be that this relationship, which is the immediate setting in which the New Careerist must work out his marginality at the agency, acts to moderate or to make more extreme the effects of the marginality. In the next section a theoretical

framework will be presented which enables one to describe these interpersonal relationships.

Power and Dependence

In the aide-supervisor relationship, according to exchange theory, both power and dependence are operating on the part of both supervisor and aide. Exchange theorists, notably Homans⁴² and Emerson⁴³, deal with interpersonal relationships in terms of the relative power one person has over another and in terms of the relative dependence of one upon the other.

The theory presupposes that the behavior of one person in a relationship can be a source of gratification to the other person, or a source of punishment--in Homan's terms, it can be more or less valuable to the person.⁴⁴ The kinds of activities in which the individual can be expected to engage, then, are those from which he expects to gain the greatest rewards.

According to Emerson's elaboration on this point: "A de-
pends upon B if he aspires to goals or gratifications whose achievement is facilitated by appropriate reactions on B's part."⁴⁵ The two persons, then, are bound together by their need for gratifications which only the other can satisfy, or which at least cannot be satisfied without him. The implication of this is that each person in the relationship can influence the behavior of the other, because he has and can control, to some extent, the other's gratifications. As Emerson puts it, "power resides implicitly in the other's dependency."⁴⁶

The dependency of one actor upon another depends on how important the goals he controls are, and on how easily they can be reached through alternate sources. The power of one actor over another is his ability to overcome the resistance of the actor of his control over available gratifications.⁴⁷ Power and dependence, according to Emerson, can be either balanced or unbalanced between any two people. An unbalanced power-dependence relationship can be presented this way:⁴⁸

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Power of A over B} & = & \text{Dependence of B on A} \\ \downarrow & & \downarrow \\ \text{Power of B over A} & = & \text{Dependence of A on B} \end{array}$$

One of the responses the two people can have to such a condition of imbalance is to engage in balancing operations. In this particular example, the following changes could result in moving the relationship toward balance.⁴⁹

1. If B reduces motivational investment in goals mediated by A (motivational withdrawal);
2. If B cultivates alternative sources for gratification of these goals (new social relations);
3. If A increases motivational investment in goals mediated by B (giving status to A);
4. If A is denied alternative sources for achieving those goals (coalition; group formation).

It should be emphasized that in all four cases the goals and actions depend upon both people, and that any change in the power and/or dependency of one person can be expected to produce change in the power and/or dependency of the other person. This in turn may create a new imbalance, with a new response on the part of one or both individuals.

The main point of the theory is that both individuals have both power and dependence, and that the relationship is sustained

and recreated through alterations in the balance between them. The interpersonal interaction is dynamic and interlocking, and based on the gratifications each person expects and receives from the other person. A person exercises power in a relationship only to the extent that he can grant or withhold something--psychic, social, or material--that is valued by the other person. In this framework, power is not an intrinsic quality of a person, but rather depends on the character of his relation with the other person.

Given this idea that power resides in the relationship, it is necessary to examine the specific relationship involved in the New Careers program--the aide-supervisor relationship--to see what factors are operating which might lead to softening or increasing New Careerists' marginality.

Exchange Theory and the New Careerist

In the everyday interaction between New Careerist and supervisor, we can expect that these power-dependence relationships will be operating. However, the situation of the New Careerist varies considerably according to the agency to which he is assigned and, in some cases, according to the supervisor. Despite the guidelines of the program, many aides are doing only clerical and other routine tasks; these aides generally have little responsibility for clients or pupils and their tasks are very distinctly separated from those of the supervisor. Some aides, on the other hand, do very professional tasks, have a great deal of responsibility for the client or pupil, and are engaged in essentially the same

type of work that the supervisor does. Other aides fall between these two groups; their jobs are mixed in character. In many cases, they do professional tasks only when the supervisor is not available to perform them himself.

In all of these cases, it must be kept in mind that the power-dependence relations are in a continual state of flux, changing as the relationship changes or as the elements become unbalanced.

Differences can probably be expected, however, between the New Careerists as they are broken down into groups according to the kinds of tasks they do. In the case of the aides with very professional tasks, it seems likely that aides would be able to build up a dependency on the part of the supervisors over time. The two share the same clients, and a success on the part of the aide is likely to be viewed at least partially as a success for the supervisor. Since the aide would require considerable guidance in his performance of the tasks, the relationship can be expected to be quite global in its scope; here again, it can be predicted that the gratifications of both supervisor and aide will become more closely connected. Since they spend a great deal of time together, they can be expected to gain their social rewards more and more from each other. In other words, the supervisor and the aide, since their tasks are quite similar, can be expected to develop elaborate combinations of powers and dependencies between them, so that each becomes very important to the other. The ultimate effect of this, it can be predicted, is

that the New Careerist will gradually be accepted into the professional sphere and his marginality will diminish.

In the case of the aides whose tasks are mostly clerical and routine, it can be suggested that aide and his professional supervisor will have a more limited interaction, both in quantity and in quality. The professional and the aide will have quite different and clearly divided tasks, and, in some cases, even different places of work. In this case, the relationship between the two will be basically one of giving and taking instructions and finished products. Consequently, whatever system of rewards and punishments develops will probably not be a very encompassing one for either individual. The effect of this, it can be predicted, will be to keep the New Careerist marginal, by preventing him from gaining entrance into the professional group.

Summary

In sum, New Careerists are placed in a situation in which they are marginal. They come from predominantly deprived backgrounds and from lives with very heavy financial and familial responsibilities; but they work with and among professionals, who have predominantly secure backgrounds and whose present situation is not critical. They are expected gradually to learn the skills of these professionals, and ideally, at least, to be able to do their jobs.

The consequence of this is that they are no longer completely at home among the group from which they come, but they cannot really be comfortable among members of the groups to which they

aspire, either. It is in this sense that they are marginal, or that their statuses are poorly crystallized. Since this is the case, they can be expected to suffer from the same kinds of dilemmas and social discomforts as other marginal persons.

One thing that might moderate this situation, however, is that on the job New Careerists have a personal relationship with at least one supervisor. It can be expected that the kind of relationship that is built up will have something to do with how he handles his marginality. If the professional allows the aide to share the same tasks he himself does, the effect that can be predicted is that the power and dependency between them will grow, and that in this way the New Careerist's accession into the professional group will be eased. If, on the other hand, his task is non-professional, it can be expected that the supervisor-aide relationship will not be a very strong one, and that no moderation of the consequences of marginality will take place.

These are the underlying propositions and theoretical framework for the research that was done in this study. The hypotheses and the questionnaire are based on these two basic elements, marginality and power-dependence relationships, and their effect on the New Careerist's tendency to become professionalized.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

The Hypotheses

Having created this conceptual model of the New Careerist's position, it is necessary now to create hypotheses which will allow the theory to be tested. Basically, the model suggests that New Careerists come from lower-class origins and are, at least ideally, working toward professional skills and under professional standards at the agency. This causes them to be socially marginal, between the two groups--to be partially acceptable to both but fully acceptable to neither.

What this means is that the New Careerist cannot be expected to be taken into the professional group as, for example, a newly qualified professional would be. While there are some skills on any job that one can learn just by doing the job, in the case of professional kinds of work, this is more difficult. Many of the things that have to be learned by any professional are not so much skills or proficiencies, but attitudes and ways of going about things; and in these matters, the support of the group is required. These cultural elements of the professional group are learned and taught through a person's membership in the group. The six elements of professionalism can be divided into two groups: those which require the support of the professional group for their development; and those which do not.

The Group-Supported Elements Hypothesis

The most obvious of the elements which require group support are professional solidarity and the professional mandate. Without an accepting and legitimating feeling on the part of the group toward the neophyte, it will be impossible for him to take on the culture shared among the members of the group. And in the case of the professional mandate, the neophyte who does not have the support of the group cannot be expected to receive their support in carrying out their functions to those outside the group either.

It can also be suggested that affective neutrality and universalistic criteria of judgment require the support of the professional group to develop. In both cases, the layman's attitude toward the problems other people lay before him is not that of the professional. Instead, the layman tends to react with considerable emotion, and he tends to see the person's problem as a unique one, different from all others. It is partly for the sake of the continuance of the professional's sanity that he develops affective neutrality and universalistic criteria of judgment; but it is also those qualities which make him a person more qualified to handle someone else's problems than, for example, a neighbor. It can be suggested that both of these two elements are not learned just by doing the task of the job--everyone is called on to deal with professional kinds of problems, even as a layman--but instead must be learned in interpersonal relationships and group interaction with the professionals at the agency.

These four areas, then--professional solidarity, professional mandate, affective neutrality, and universalistic criteria of judgment--can be regarded as elements of professionalization which can only be learned and taken on by interaction in the professional group. Since New Careerists are marginal and it must be assumed that they do not have the full support of the professional group, it can be suggested that they will not become more professionalized in these areas over time.

These considerations lead to the proposal of the following hypothesis (the Group-Supported Elements Hypothesis):

In areas of professionalization which require group support from the professionals in the agency to develop, New Careerists may be expected to become less professional in their attitudes over time. These areas include:

- a. professional solidarity
- b. professional mandate
- c. affective neutrality
- d. universalistic criteria of judgment

The dependent variable in this hypothesis is the amount of degree of professionalization observed. The independent variable is the New Careerist's experience of group support over time. The research model for this hypothesis, then, is as follows:

For any given aspect of professionalization:

Experience of Group Support

		0-6 Months	7-12 Months	13+ Months
Degree of Professionalization	Very High	N	Nn	n
	High	Nn	Nn	Nn
	Low	Nn	Nn	Nn
	Very Low	n	Nn	N

The notations in the various cells indicate the relative sizes of frequencies that can be expected in them, according to the hypothesis. An N indicates the largest frequency, Nn a middle-sized frequency, and n the smallest frequency. This same notation will be used on the other two hypotheses.

This hypothesis, then, predicts that in areas where the acceptance of the New Careerist is essential for his learning of the element of professionalism, he will become less professionalized over time. The next hypothesis will deal with those areas in which the acceptance of the group is not required.

The Task-Learned Elements Hypothesis

Every New Careerist works at an agency for half his day each week, performing whatever tasks are given to him. These tasks vary from routine clerical tasks to such professional skills as interviewing and counseling, but there are certain techniques involved in doing them, regardless of what they are. It can be suggested that just by the process of doing the jobs they do, New Careerists will develop the skills they need to do them. These proficiencies do not require the support of the professional group to be learned; they can be compared to the skills a mechanic or plumber might learn in the course of his apprenticeship. In these cases, the marginality of New Careerists should have little to do with the extent to which they become professionalized. Instead, in these areas what is going on is a learning process in the more general sense--the learning of techniques of doing things, rather than of ways of looking at things. This

kind of statement applies best to the areas of technical competence and specificity of function, since the need for both flows directly out of the kinds of tasks that are being done. These force new ways of thinking and reacting on the New Careerist, but they flow from the task itself, which requires certain technical skills and a certain limitation of the field of interest; they do not require the support of professionals to develop, although that support would probably encourage them. This leads to the following hypothesis (the Task-Learned Elements Hypothesis):

In areas of professionalization which do not require group support from the professionals at the agency in order to develop, New Careerists may be expected to become more professionalized over time. These areas include:

- a. technical competence
- b. specificity of function

The dependent variable in this hypothesis, again, is the amount or degree of professionalization observed. The independent variable is the New Careerist's contact with the work being done at the agency. This leads to a research design like this:

For any given area of professionalization:

Experience of Group Support

		0-6 Months	7-12 Months	13+ Months
Degree of Professional- ization	Very High	n	Nn	N
	High	Nn	Nn	Nn
	Low	Nn	Nn	Nn
	Very Low	N	Nn	n

In sum, this hypothesis predicts that in areas of professionalization in which the support of the professional group is not required for the development of professionalization, the amount of

professionalization will increase as the person is in New Careers longer.

The Professional Task Hypothesis

New Careerists, however, do a multitude of different kinds of tasks, ranging from such things as filing and making bulletin boards to such things as interviewing and counseling. It can be suggested that this difference in type of task might be expected to produce differences in the amount of professionalization. Those aides who are doing very professional kinds of work are likely to have more contact with their supervisors. When this is the case, we can expect that both power and dependency between the two will be high. In the case of the aides who perform mainly clerical or routine tasks, little dependence or power should be expected, since the spheres of activity of aide and supervisor will not overlap very much. The aide who does professional tasks reflects directly on the ability of his supervisor to teach him and guide him; the aide who does routine tasks reflects only on his own ability to do a particular job. In the case of aides who do very professional kinds of tasks, constantly expanding expanding networks of power and dependence can be expected; in the case of those who do routine tasks, these networks may not develop beyond a minimal level. Thus, it can be predicted that aides who have very professional tasks will be more professionalized in all areas after a period of involvement in the New Careers program than will aides who are involved in largely non-professional tasks. This leads to the third hypothesis (the

Professional Task Hypothesis):

In all areas of professionalization, sides who perform professional tasks will be more professionalized than those who perform non-professional tasks, at the end of any given time period.

As in the other two hypotheses, the dependent variable is the amount or degree of professionalization observed, and the independent variable is the type of task a New Careerist does at the agency, either professional or non-professional. This hypothesis produces a basic research model like this:

For any given aspect of professionalization:

		Type of Task	
		Professional	Non-Professional
Degree of Professional- ization	Very High	N	n
	High	Nn	Nn
	Low	Nn	Nn
	Very Low	n	N

In sum, this hypothesis relates the type of task the New Careerist does at the agency with his degree of professionalization on the basis of power and dependency relations at the agency. The next step is to discuss how these three hypotheses were implemented in the research itself. This will be discussed in the next section.

The Instrument

Once the theoretical framework was developed, questions were written to try to tap the various aspects of professionalization that were included in the theory. Very few systematic

attempts to measure professionalization on any systematic theoretical basis have been made, and it was felt that original questions were superior to any other instrument that had previously been developed. A set of fourteen questions was originally written, and upon pretesting, four of them were dropped because of lack of variety of response, difficulty of interpretation, and other similar problems. Correlations were run between ten remaining items in an attempt to develop a scale by which the professionalization of New Careerists could be measured, but none of the correlations allowed very much success in predicting the responses on one question from those on any other. Consequently, it was felt that one item that had a good distribution and could be clearly interpreted should be selected as the index to each of the six aspects of professionalization. This resulted in a set of six items, corresponding as follows to the aspects of professionalization:

1. I feel that my supervisor thinks of me as a professional and expects me to act like one. (professional solidarity)
2. Because of his training, I feel that my supervisor understands poverty better than I do. (technical competence)
3. The range of abilities and talents I have been able to use at the agency has become narrower during the time I have been a New Careerist. (specificity of function)
4. I feel that there are jobs at the agency that I can do better than the professionals can. (the professional mandate)
5. I feel that the professionals in the agency deal with the problems of the clients too routinely, and often don't understand what the client is going through. (affective neutrality)

6. The problems of the low-income community cannot be fully understood except by the people who live there. (universalistic criteria of judgment)

For each item, there were four response categories: strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. For items 1, 2, and 3, response of agree or strongly agree is interpreted as a professional response; a disagree or strongly disagree response on these items is interpreted as a non-professional response. For items 4, 5, and 6, strongly agree and agree responses are taken as non-professional answers; disagree and strongly disagree are taken as professional responses.

Administration

The six items were included in a larger research questionnaire which was given to nearly all New Careerists in December of 1968. The larger questionnaire had been given previously, but these six items were new at this test session. Administration was done at the agencies in which New Careerists are employed, and each testing session was supervised by a member of the New Careers research staff.

Operational Definitions of Variables

The dependent variable in all three hypotheses is the degree of professionalization of New Careerists. For any given item (and therefore for any given aspect of professionalization) this is operationalized through the response categories of the question, as discussed above.

The variable "experience of group support" is operationalized by dividing the subjects into groups according to how long

they had been in the program prior to the test administration. The assumption is that the longer the person has been in the program, the longer he has been exposed to whatever degree of professional support or non-support there is at the agency. For purposes of calculations, the group was divided into three subgroups on this basis: those who have been in the program less than six months, those who have been in the program seven to twelve months, and those who have been in thirteen months or more.

The variable "amount of contact with the work being done at the agency" is measured in exactly the same way as the group support variable. The subgroups are identical.

The variable "type of task" was operationalized through a procedure of identifying two groups of New Careerists who, according to people who are familiar with the jobs aides do at the agency, have either extremely professional or extremely non-professional kinds of tasks. It is assumed that all New Careerists would be classified on a continuum on this basis, but there are few people on the staff who are qualified to judge this aspect of the work situation. For this reason, two extreme groups were chosen--one with very professional tasks, and one with very non-professional tasks. The judging was done by the staff social worker, who has contact with most of the New Careerists fairly frequently, and by the staff member who supervises the aides assigned to the Minneapolis Public Schools. This includes the majority of the aides.

Statistical Procedures

Statistical Test

Three major variables are dealt with in this research: the time in the program, the person's degree of professionalization, and the type of task he does. The first is at the interval level, the second definitely at the ordinal level, and the third at least implicitly at the ordinal level. This last variable, because of the operational procedures necessary to measure it, appears at first to be only at the nominal level of measurement. However, it is clear that there is the assumption of a continuum of tasks, running from professional to non-professional, and that the two extremes have been singled out for this research. Thus, any given job, with adequate measuring devices, could be placed as less professional than some jobs, and more professional than others. In other words, it could be ranked. For all three variables being dealt with, then, the level of measurement is at least ordinal.

In the same way, all three variables can be assumed to be distributed on a continuous distribution. Although only certain categories are singled out for the purposes of this research, an underlying continuity is assumed for each.

Since the two samples in the data are drawn out of the same larger sample, and since the design is not a before-and-after (repeated measures) design, independent samples are present.

For data with these characteristics (independent samples, ordinal measurement, and a continuous distribution), the Mann-Whitney U test is appropriate for use in testing for differences

between groups. Since this test is based on the ranks of the variable in the two different samples, ties are important. In the case of this variable, which has only four categories, nearly all subjects are tied with others in their response. For this reason, the revised formula for the Mann-Whitney U, taking into account the distortion produced by ties, was used.

The sampling distribution for these data was the normal curve (z) values. The sampling distribution of U rapidly approaches the normal distribution as the size of the samples increases above twenty. The larger of the two samples is used as the n in this decision. For these data, the N 's are large enough to use the z value of the U equation, and to use the sampling distribution of the normal curve.

Level of Significance and Rejection Region

Although in most sociological research a probability level of .05 is used, several sociologists have recently pointed out that there are various reasons one might want to set the probability level either higher or lower than this or ignore it altogether. Among them are the power of the test, the degree to which the data fulfill the assumptions required for the statistical test, and the importance of the findings. This last factor seems most important here. One of the primary functions of this research is to evaluate the New Careers program and to see whether it is working according to the theory that is supposed to guide it. The consequences of a Type I error (rejecting the null hypothesis when it should not in fact be rejected) have to be taken into consideration

in making this decision. In this case, the consequences of a Type I error are negligible. However, the added information that can be examined and presented with a slightly higher probability level seems in keeping with the purpose of the whole research project: to provide information that will be useful in deciding in what areas change is needed in the program and in what direction it should be made. For this thesis, the probability level is set at .10. It is felt that the access to added information outweighs the risks of a Type I-error.

Since the hypotheses all predict the direction of the relationship between professionalization and the other variables, the region of rejection is one-tailed and all probabilities associated with the z values from the Mann-Whitney test will be one-tailed probabilities.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINDINGS

In this chapter, the findings of the research will be presented and examined. Each hypothesis will be dealt with separately and each element under each will be treated with the main hypothesis.

The Group-Supported Elements Hypothesis

The first hypothesis is concerned with the fact that New Careerists are marginal and may be expected not to be accepted into the professionals group. For this reason, it was predicted that in areas which required the support of the professional group, they would become less professionalized as time went by. The four areas involved here are professional solidarity, professional mandate, affective neutrality, and universalistic criteria of judgment.

For all the data for this hypothesis, three sets of Mann-Whitney U tests were run. First, the difference between the people with six months' or less experience and those with seven to twelve months' experience were compared. Second, the difference between those with seven to twelve months and those with thirteen or more months were examined. And finally, those with six months' or less experience were compared to those with thirteen months or more. In all cases, findings that are significant at $p \leq .10$ will be presented; where this level of significance is not obtained, no statistical test results will be presented.

Professional Solidarity

This item was intended to measure the degree to which New Careerists feel they participate in the culture and support of the professional group. On this item, none of the Mann-Whitney tests showed any significant probability value. The only conclusion that can be reached is that there is no significant effect of the program over time on the New Careerists' feeling that there is professional solidarity between himself and his supervisors.

TABLE 1

PROFESSIONAL SOLIDARITY AND THE EXPERIENCE OF GROUP SUPPORT

Value Placed on Professional Solidarity	Length of Work Experience					
	0-6 Months		7-12 Months		13 or more Months	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very High	2	17	1	5	9	11
High	5	42	9	50	31	36
Low	5	42	7	39	35	41
Very Low	0	0	1	6	10	12
Total	12	101	18	100	85	100

Professional Mandate

This item was intended to measure the degree to which New Careerists feel that the professional can define certain areas of life better than the non-professional, and that he has authority because of that.

TABLE 2
PROFESSIONAL MANDATE AND THE EXPERIENCE
OF GROUP SUPPORT

Value Placed on the Professional Mandate	Length of Work Experience					
	0-6 Months		7-12 Months		13 or more Months	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very High	0	0	0	0	13	16
High	6	50	9	47	39	48
Low	6	50	10	53	29	36
Very Low	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	12	100	19	100	81	100

Statistical Tests:

$z = -2.01$

$p = .02$

The only difference that showed a probability value of less than .10 was the difference between the least experienced and the most experienced aides. However, this difference was in the direction opposite from that predicted. From being evenly divided between high and low professionalization at the outset, New Careerists moved toward the more professionalized end of the range, with 52 of the experienced aides being in the high group as opposed to only 29 in the low group. Apparently, in the area of the professional mandate, New Careerists are becoming more professional in their attitudes. Both the theory and the hypothesis predicted just the opposite: that because of peer group solidarity they would become less professional in their attitudes.

Affective Neutrality

This item in the questionnaire was intended to measure the degree to which New Careerists are able to see their client/student's problems objectively and without emotion. The theory and hypothesis both predicted that they would become less able to do this over time, because the group that is needed to foster such attitudes would not be present in the agency setting. On this item, as with professional solidarity, none of the \bar{z} scores are significant below .10. All that can be said here is that there

TABLE 3
AFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY AND THE EXPERIENCE
OF GROUP SUPPORT

Value Placed on Affective Neutrality	Length of Work Experience					
	0-6 Months		7-12 Months		13 or more Months	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very High	1	8	2	11	10	12
High	4	33	7	39	34	40
Low	7	58	8	44	31	37
Very Low	0	0	1	6	9	11
Total	12	99	18	100	84	100

is no statistical difference between the rankings of these groups. The data neither confirm nor refute the hypothesis.

Universalistic Criteria of Judgment

The fourth element of professionalization involved in this

hypothesis was universalistic criteria of judgment. This is the element that deals with the professional's ability to deal with the client/student's problems in a general sense rather than in a particularistic one. The data on this item are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4
UNIVERSALISTIC CRITERIA OF JUDGMENT AND THE
EXPERIENCE OF GROUP SUPPORT

Value Placed On Universalistic Criteria of Judgment	Length of Work Experience					
	0-6 Months		7-12 Months		13 or more Months	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very High	0	0	0	0	6	7
High	2	17	9	53	15	18
Low	4	33	3	18	25	33
Very low	6	50	5	29	35	42
Total	12	100	17	100	83	100

Statistical Tests:

$$r_{12} = -1.41$$

$$p = .08$$

The only significant difference resulting from these data on the Mann-Whitney tests is between those who have been in the program less than six months and those who have been in between seven and twelve months. The hypothesis predicted that New Careerists with more experience would become less professionalized in this area, but the data show that the trend is in the opposite

direction. At the outset, few New Careerists had professionalization scores below the middle of the scale; after six months, over half are above the middle on the professionalization scale. Not much change occurs, however, in the last 6 months. Again, the difference is in the opposite direction than that predicted: those with more experience in New Careers are more professionalized in this area.

Summary

In sum, the data on this hypothesis do not support it. Although two of the elements show no significant difference, the two that do (professional mandate and universalistic criteria of judgment) show change in the opposite direction from that predicted. What must be concluded is that the lack of group support among supervisors for New Careerists does not affect the degree of professionalization they achieve, or, in the cases where there is some effect, it is in the opposite direction than what would be predicted from the theory.

The other hypothesis based on the marginality of New Careerists rests on the same basic theoretical position. In the next section it will be discussed.

The Task-Learned Elements Hypothesis

The second major hypothesis, like the first, is based on the marginality of New Careerists. It emphasizes, however, the fact that some aspects of professionalization--notably technical competence and specificity of function--do not require the support of the group for their development. The hypothesis predicts that

in these two areas, professionalization will increase over time, simply because of the increased exposure New Careerists get to the type of tasks they have to do at the agency.

For these data the same three sets of Mann-Whitney U tests were run as for the group support hypothesis. The results of the data are presented in the next two sections.

Technical Competence

This item describes the degree to which New Careerists take on technical competence in doing the tasks they do at the agency; it is a measure of the importance they place on professionals' proficiency in these jobs. Two of the three Mann-Whitney U tests in this area showed a change in degree in professionalization over time, significant at $p \leq .10$. These data are presented in Table 5 below.

TABLE 5
TECHNICAL COMPETENCE AND THE EXPERIENCE
OF GROUP SUPPORT

Value Placed on Technical Competence	Length of Work Experience					
	0-6 Months		7-12 Months		13 or more Months	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very High	1	8	2	10	3	4
High	4	33	5	26	13	16
Low	7	58	8	42	43	53
Very Low	0	0	4	21	22	27
Total	12	99	19	99	81	100

Statistical Tests:

$$z_{23} = -1.28$$

$$p = .10$$

$$z_{13} = -2.32$$

$$p = .01$$

The theory and the hypothesis predicted an increase in professionalization over time in this area, but it is clear that the data go in the opposite direction. In the first group there were no persons in the Low cell, but the group is fairly evenly divided between generally high and generally low professionalization. In the last group, the Low cell has been filled with 22 cases, and there is a considerable imbalance (65 as opposed to 16 cases) between the generally high and the generally low scores. In the area of technical competence, New Careerists apparently are becoming less professionalized as they are involved in the program longer.

Specificity of Function

This item was designed to measure the degree to which New Careerists treat a certain area of concern in their client/students, rather than attempting to deal with the "whole man." The theory predicts that they will become more professionalized in this area, since it does not require the support of the group but does require acquaintance with the task. The data are presented in Table 6.

In this area, all three Mann-Whitney-U's were significant below $p \leq .10$. As can be seen in the table, among the first group, those with generally high scores were twice as big a group as those with generally low scores. This proportion keeps increasing over time, until in the group with the most experience, 72 fall in the generally high group and only 9 fall in the generally low group. It is clear that again the difference is in the opposite

TABLE 6
SPECIFICITY OF FUNCTION AND THE EXPERIENCE
OF GROUP SUPPORT

Value Placed on Specificity of Function	Length of Work Experience					
	0-6 Months		7-12 Months		13 or more Months	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very High	1	8	6	32	25	31
High	7	58	11	58	47	58
Low	2	17	2	10	8	10
Very Low	2	17	0	0	1	1
Total	12	100	19	100	81	100

Statistical Tests:

$$\begin{aligned}
 z_{12} &= -1.43 \\
 p &= .08 \\
 z_{23} &= -2.79 \\
 p &= .003 \\
 z_{13} &= -2.34 \\
 p &= .01
 \end{aligned}$$

direction than the one predicted, and that New Careerists are becoming less professionalized in this area as they remain in the program longer.

Summary

In this second half of the hypotheses dealing basically with New Careerists' marginality, it is obvious that the direction is, as in the first set, opposite than what was predicted. Again, it can be said that the presence or absence of group support does not act in the way that was predicted. This seems to

apply in both directions: when its effects are expected to produce increasing professionalization, the data show that less is taking place; when it is predicted that New Careerists will become less professionalized, they become more so.

The Professional Task Hypothesis

This last hypothesis deals with the possibility that the type of task the New Careerists do might have a large effect on the relationships they have with their supervisors, and that the resulting power-dependency relationships might in turn cause differences in the degree to which the person becomes professionalized. The theory is that those aides who do very professional kinds of work will build up elaborate and strong power-dependence relationships with their supervisors, and that these relationships will encourage the development of professional attitudes. Those aides who have very non-professional tasks, on the contrary, may be expected not to build up very complex relationships with their supervisors and, in consequence, not to become professionalized as rapidly.

Since this hypothesis deals with only two classes of the independent variable, only one Mann-Whitney U was run for each of the elements of professionalization. The findings in the data for this hypothesis are presented below. Those findings in which $p > .10$ will not be presented.

Professional Solidarity

This item intended to measure the importance New Careerists place on their participation in the professional group. The data

for this variable are presented below in Table 7.

TABLE 7
PROFESSIONAL SOLIDARITY AND TYPE OF TASK

Value Placed on Professional Solidarity	Type of Task			
	Professional		Non-Professional	
	N	%	N	%
Very High	2	10	1	6
High	10	53	7	44
Low	5	26	6	37
Very Low	2	10	2	13
Total	19	99	16	100

As is obvious by inspection and from the results of the test, there are no significant differences between the groups on this aspect of professionalization. The frequencies in the cells are nearly identical. Since there is no significant difference, in this area the theory cannot be accepted as an explanation for what is going on in the social setting.

Professional Mandate

This item deals with the way New Careerists feel about the professional's right and ability to define certain areas of life for other people, and the authority he has because of this. On this item, the theory predicts that the professional task group will become more professionalized than the non-professional task group, and this is verified by the data. The data are presented

in Table 8, below.

TABLE 8
THE PROFESSIONAL MANDATE AND TYPE OF TASK

Value Placed on the Professional Mandate	Type of Task			
	Professional		Non-Professional	
	N	%	N	%
Very High	5	28	0	0
High	9	50	7	47
Low	4	22	5	33
Very Low	0	0	3	20
Total	18	100	15	100

Statistical Tests:

$z = -1.434$

$p = .08$

Most of the difference apparently comes in the two extreme cells, which have quite different frequencies for the two groups, while the cells toward the middle are not so dissimilar for the two groups. Apparently, in the area of the professional mandate, the professional-aide relationship does not act to facilitate the professionalization of the New Careerist, but to inhibit it.

Technical Competence

This item was intended to measure the degree to which New Careerists find technical competence important in the tasks they do at the agency. The theory and hypothesis predict for this aspect of professionalization that the professional task group

will be more professionalized than the non-professional task group, and this is verified by the data. The data are presented in Table 9, below.

TABLE 9
TECHNICAL COMPETENCE AND TYPE OF TASK

Value Placed on Technical Competence	Type of Task			
	Professional		Non-Professional	
	N	%	N	%
Very High	4	22	0	0
High	6	33	3	19
Low	7	39	10	62
Very Low	1	5	3	19
Total	18	99	16	100

Statistical Tests:

$z = -2.84$

$p = .002$

As in the last aspect of professionalization, the main differences for this group seem to be in the extreme categories, with few middle range cases being too different. Apparently, for the area of technical competence, the type of task a person does at the agency does have an effect on the degree to which he becomes professionalized, and it is in the direction predicted.

Specificity of Function

This item was intended to measure the degree to which New Careerists come to define their clients/pupils in terms of a

limited area of treatment, rather than treating the "whole" person. For this item, as the data in Table 10 show, there is a significant difference between the two groups, but it is in the opposite direction than that predicted.

TABLE 10
SPECIFICITY OF FUNCTION AND TYPE OF TASK

Value Placed on Specificity of Function	Type of Task			
	Professional		Non-Professional	
	N	%	N	%
Very High	0	0	2	12
High	1	5	4	25
Low	10	53	7	44
Very Low	8	42	3	19
Total	19	100	16	100

Statistical Tests:

$z = -1.56$

$p = .06$

The hypothesis predicts that aides with professional tasks will be more professionalized than those with non-professional tasks, but the data show the opposite trend. In the area of specificity of function, then, apparently the relationships that develop between the aide and the supervisor do not lead to a corresponding development of professionalization.

Affective Neutrality

This item was intended to measure the degree to which New

Careerists find it important to be as objective as possible in dealing with the people they encounter at the agency, rather than taking a more affective approach to them. For this variable, as can be seen in Table 11, no significant difference was found between the two groups.

TABLE 11
AFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY AND TYPE OF TASK

Value Placed on Affective Neutrality	Type of Task			
	Professional		Non-Professional	
	N	%	N	%
Very High	4	20	0	0
High	8	40	10	62
Low	5	25	4	25
Very Low	3	15	2	13
Total	20	100	16	100

Universalistic Criteria of Judgment

This item was intended to measure the degree to which New Careerists value the ability professionals have to use broad, inclusive standards in their judgments rather than to use particularistic ones. The hypothesis predicts that those aides who do professional tasks at the agency will be more professionalized in this area than will those who do non-professional tasks. As can be seen from the data in Table 12, few differences are evident between the two groups in any cell. Here again, the data cannot

TABLE 12
UNIVERSALISTIC CRITERIA OF JUDGMENT AND
TYPE OF TASK

Value Placed on Universalistic Criteria of Judgment	Type of Task			
	Professional		Non-Professional	
	N	%	N	%
Very High	3	17	2	12
High	3	17	3	19
Low	8	44	8	50
Very Low	4	22	3	19
Total	18	100	16	100

be used to confirm the hypothesis, and little light is shed on the relationship between these two variables.

Summary

The findings for this last hypothesis, in sum, are mixed and hard to interpret. Three items show no differences at all between the two groups--universalistic criteria of judgment, professional solidarity, and affective neutrality. On two of the items, professional mandate and technical competence, the difference was in the direction predicted. And for the area of specificity of function, the test produced opposite results from those predicted. Apparently if there is a relationship between the type of task and the amount of professionalization that takes place, it is a complex one and would require further examination to describe completely.

CHAPTER ✓

EVALUATION OF THE NEW CAREERS AIDE PROGRAM

It is apparent from the findings of the research that the first two hypotheses, those related to the marginality of the New Careerist, are directly contradicted by the data collected and analyzed. The third hypothesis, pertaining to the power-dependence relationships between aides and supervisors, is almost impossible either to support or to reject in its entirety according to the data.

Two main tasks remain. First, an evaluation of the New Careers program on the basis of the data must be made. This involves examining the objectives and theoretical guidelines of the program and comparing them to how the data indicate it is actually operating. Second, on the basis of this evaluation, suggestions and recommendations for change can be made.

The Bridging Function

One of the main ideas involved in the New Careers program is that indigenous personnel can act as bridging agents between the professional and his low-income client. One of the main dangers involved in this is that the program places New Careerists in agencies and teaches them professional jobs, at the risk of eliminating or reducing their effectiveness as bridging persons. To the question of whether or not New Careerists are becoming more professionalized, the answer has to be yes. But they are

not becoming more professionalized in a general way. In at least two areas, specificity of function and technical competence, they have not taken on the values or characteristics of professionals. They still feel that they can handle the problems they meet at the agency by drawing on a wide range of knowledge and experience, and they appear to feel that the technical competence--professional skills--of the professional are not essential to the job they do. What this indicates is that while they accept some elements of the professional model, they reject others. This may be exactly the way in which the bridge function can be carried out in the setting of the agency. If the aides were becoming more professionalized in every way, it could be said that the program just provides another way of teaching people to be professionals; but since the professionalization is selective, it can be suggested the New Careerists are maintaining their own characteristics as indigenous personnel while at the same time doing the job at the agency. The outlook for the bridging function, then seems to be bright. Changes are taking place among aides during their involvement in the program, but they are not consistently in either direction. The implication of this is that while New Careerists are changed and molded by the program, they are not destroyed as effective bridging personnel by the changes they undergo. While they are subject to all the areas of "contamination" that Pearl and Riessman mention, apparently they have some resistance to it in certain areas. The effect of the program seems to be to cause them to take on professional ways of handling their job situations, while at the same time maintaining their loyalties and character-

istics as members of the low-income community. In sum, the data seem to say that New Careerists are succeeding as para-professionals, but that they are doing it within the modes of action and expression that they have as members of low-income groups.

The Supervisor-Aide Relationship

The last hypothesis deals basically with the relationship between the supervisor and the aide. The findings on this hypothesis are at best inconclusive, and it is difficult to make any generalizations from them. This relationship has been almost totally neglected in New Careers research, and as a result not much is known about how these relationships develop and change over time.

However, in many cases, it is likely that the supervisor really does not teach the aide his job at all, but gives him another job which he can carry out independently of the supervisor. From interviews conducted during the operation of the program, it appears that this is true of some of the jobs in almost every agency. In this way, the necessity of having an involved or complex relationship with the aide is circumvented, and the supervisor only has to supervise. Combined with the vague job definitions New Careerists face anyway, just because of the roles they play, this makes for a situation in which the aide can define his own way of doing the job he has to do; and if the job is a professional kind of work, it is likely that he will develop professional ways of doing it.

Assuming that the supervisor is readily available for giving

advice and consultation, however, this may be the best situation in which the New Careerist can perform the bridging function. It is possible that the absence of a strong personal relationship between the aide and the supervisor, rather than undermining the goals of the program, may foster them. A strong pattern of power and dependence between the two might lead the aide to become the kind of professional that his supervisor is, and this would frustrate his ability to perform the bridge function and prevent the realization of the basic idea of the program.

It may be suggested, then, that as long as the supervisors and aides get along with each other, they be encouraged to work on different tasks rather than sharing the same one. This is more difficult in some settings than in others, but it seems most likely to allow the bridging function to be performed.

Professional and Non-Professional Tasks

The fact that the data show few differences between aides along the dimension of type of task seems to indicate that the specific kinds of work the aide is doing do not determine the rate at which he becomes professionalized. Clerical and routine types of work are undesirable in the program, because they do not involve any kind of client or pupil contact for the aide and therefore do not allow him to be effective at being a bridge person. At the same time, it appears that type of task does not have much to do with whether a person becomes professionalized or not. Consequently, it can be concluded that clerical jobs are not intrinsically bad as regards professionalization. When changes

are being made, then, in the kinds of jobs and tasks that are available to New Careerists, it appears that the main concern should be not so much with whether or not the New Careerist can learn professional skills and attitudes, but with whether or not he has an opportunity to meet the people for whom the agency is responsible.

In short, the data seem to indicate that basically the guidelines of the program are being successfully carried out, and that New Careerists, at least in their function as bridging personnel, are not becoming "contaminated" by their contact with professionals to the extent that they lose their ability to perform this function. In conclusion, it is necessary to make some general comments about the concept of professionalization as it is used and developed in sociology. The basis of this thesis is this concept, and the flaws or omissions in the conceptual background lead to some suggestions about what further directions research might take.

The Theory of Professionalization

One of the major problems with the available theory on professionalism is that it does not deal with the experience of becoming a professional, but rather with the social processes in which professionals are involved. Several approaches can be taken in this kind of study. First, it can be approached in the way it has been in this paper--by identifying the elements of a professional way of handling problems and then to approximate a person's approach to these positions over time. Second, professionalization

can be treated as a series of stages which the person goes through. Hall⁵⁰ treats it in this way, but his stages deal with the social processes involved in becoming a professional (e.g., gaining admission to a medical school and acquiring a clientele) rather than with the stages of personal development that take place. Becker and Carper⁵¹ treat professionalization in a somewhat different way, but their approach still deals with the social realities around the person and not with the way he responds as an individual to those realities. They treat the process of becoming a professional essentially as a process of making choices and investments in a future. They deal with the concept of commitment to a vocation in a later article,⁵² but they still do not touch on what happens to the person. In sum, in the field of sociology there are criteria for discussing, describing, and identifying professions and professionals, but there is little information on what it means to become a professional.

Several approaches that are current in sociology today might be applied to this problem. First, there is the symbolic interaction process, which places the burden of social interaction on the presence of shared meanings and values between people, which enable them to communicate and to interact successfully. The questions of the transformations that a person must undergo in the process of becoming a professional is certainly a relevant one. Second, the concept of socialization proposed by Anselm Strauss,⁵³ that of transformation of identity, might be useful in finding out what the personal experience of becoming a professional is like. This would involve changes in such things as

clothing, language habits, naming behavior, loyalties, and attitudes toward social situations, for example.

Essentially the question here is how one knows he is a professional, and how he communicates that knowledge to other people in interaction.

With these theoretical and practical considerations in mind, the last section can be devoted to consideration of what kinds of research can be done in this area of the New Careers program to uncover further insights.

Indications for Further Research

Several suggestions can be made as to directions future research on this problem might take. First, there is a need for work on what the process of becoming a professional involves for the individual himself. This would ultimately involve a new, more person-oriented definition of professionalization. Second, there is a need to explore much more extensively the supervisor-aid relationships on the job. This might involve not only finding out how these relationships operate, but trying to determine how the kind of relationship the New Careerist has with his supervisor affects his professionalization. Third, since it appears that New Careerists are performing some sort of a bridging role between the professional and his client, at least in some cases, it seems necessary to determine what is involved in that role. This would require investigation of the three persons and their interrelationships.

The main approach to any further research should be a more

situationally based one, preferably using a method of investigation other than questionnaires. This recommendation seems to be indicated both by the New Careerists' resistance to information-gathering by this method, and by the new theoretical concerns that are opened up by this piece of research.

FOOTNOTES

¹For example, see Eleanor E. Maccoby and Nathan Maccoby, "The Interview: A Tool of Social Science," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Volume I (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), Chapter 12. Also see Manford H. Kuhn, "The Interview and the Professional Relationship," in Arnold M. Rose (ed.), Human Behavior and Social Processes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962) pp. 193-206.

²Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, New Careers for the Poor (New York: Free Press, 1963).

³Ibid., p. 85.

⁴Ibid., pp. 85-86.

⁵Ibid., p. 86.

⁶Ibid., p. 156.

⁷Ibid., pp. 196-197.

⁸Ibid., p. 197.

⁹Everett Cherrington Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1958).

¹⁰Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills, Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966).

¹¹Hughes, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

¹²Ibid., p. 36.

¹³Vollmer and Mills, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Hughes, op. cit., p. 54.

¹⁶Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory: Pure and Applied (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949), p. 189.

¹⁷Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1951), p. 65.

- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Parsons, op. cit., Essays, p. 189.
- 20 Hughes, op. cit., p. 79.
- 21 Ibid., p. 141.
- 22 Vollmer and Mills, op. cit., p. 49.
- 23 Parsons, op. cit., The Social System, pp. 66-67.
- 24 Ibid., p. 60.
- 25 Hughes, op. cit., p. 54.
- 26 Parsons, op. cit., The Social System, p. 62.
- 27 Hughes, op. cit., Men and Their Work, p. 82.
- 28 Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1937).
- 29 Everett Cherrington Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," American Journal of Sociology, L (March, 1945), pp. 353-359; and "Social Change and Status Pretest: An Essay on the Marginal Man," Phylon (First Quarter, 1949), pp. 58-65.
- 30 Stonequist, op. cit., pp. 121-123.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 123, 130-131.
- 32 Ibid., pp. 144-145.
- 33 Hughes, op. cit., "Dilemmas and Contradictions," p. 356.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid., p. 357.
- 38 Ibid., p. 388.
- 39 Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, XIX (August, 1954), pp. 405-413; and "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, XXI (August, 1956), pp. 458-464.

⁴⁰Ibid., "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," p. 459.

⁴¹Hughes, op. cit., "Dilemmas and Contradictions," p. 358.

⁴²George Caspar Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961).

⁴³Richard M. Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relations," American Journal of Sociology, XVII (February, 1962), pp. 31-41.

⁴⁴Homans, op. cit., p. 34.

⁴⁵Emerson, op. cit., p. 32.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 34.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁰Vollmer and Mills, op. cit., p. 88.

⁵¹Howard S. Becker and James Carper, "The Development of Identification with an Occupation," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (January, 1956), pp. 289-298.

⁵²Howard S. Becker and James Carper, "The Elements of Identification with an Occupation," American Sociological Review, XXI (June, 1956), pp. 341-348.

⁵³Anselm Strauss, "Transformations of Identity," in Rose, op. cit., pp. 41-59.

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